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CIA:J.ZOETER/R.KRAPF(IN DRAFT)
DOC:JBURGESS/DHASFURTHER/R.SARICH
TREAS/ERENDALL/SCOTT LYON (DRAFT)
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TO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 225153

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, EEWT, CVIS, RO, US

SUBJECT: ANNUAL POLICY ASSESSMENT FOR ROMANIA

REF: BUCHAREST 1531

1. AN INTERAGENCY GROUP HAS REVIEWED EMBASSY BUCHAREST'S
ANNUAL POLICY ASSESSMENT FOR ROMANIA. WE FOUND THE
EMBASSY'S ANALYSIS COMPREHENSIVE AND PERCEPTIVE. WE
CONCUR IN ITS STATEMENT OF OUR POLICY OBJECTIVES AND IN
THE ACCOMPANYING COMMENTS ON THE FACTORS WHICH WILL BEAR
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ON US-ROMANIAN RELATIONS IN THE COMING MONTHS. OUR
COMMENTS ON GENERAL POLICY OBJECTIVES, OUR BILATERAL
RELATIONSHIP, AND PROPOSED COURSES OF ACTION FOLLOW.

2. US POLICY OBJECTIVES

THE 1973 EUROPARA FOR ROMANIA STATES THAT "THE US PRIMARY INTEREST IN SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE IS TO SUPPORT EXISTING INDEPENDENCE FROM SOVIET INFLUENCE ... AND EXPAND CONTACTS WITH THE WEST." A SECOND US INTEREST IS DEFINED AS "SEEING THE REGION CONTINUE TO DEMONSTRATE THE POSSIBILITY OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE WITHIN THE COMMUNIST WORLD." THE EUROPARA ALSO NOTES THAT A MAJOR RESTRAINT ON US TACTICS IN SEEKING THE ABOVE OBJECTIVES

IS RECOGNITION OF SOVIET SECURITY CONCERNS IN THE REGION, ESPECIALLY IN ROMANIA AND BULGARIA. IN ADDITION, THE EUROPARA NOTES THE GROWING MARKETS OF SE EUROPE AND DEFINES "THE BASIC US ECONOMIC INTEREST IS IN MAXIMUM ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH THE COUNTRIES OF THE AREA ...". THE EMBASSY SUMMARIZES OUR PRIMARY INTEREST AS FOLLOWS: "TO SUPPORT ROMANIAN INDEPENDENCE FROM THE USSR WITHOUT THREATENING LEGITIMATE SOVIET SECURITY INTEREST." WE BELIEVE THESE REMAIN OUR OVERALL POLICY OBJECTIVES VIS-A-VIS ROMANIA.

3. THE REVIEW GROUP CONCURS WITH EMBASSY BUCHAREST'S CONCLUSION THAT PROGRESS TOWARD OBTAINING THESE OBJECTIVES IN THE PAST YEAR HAS BEEN GOOD. WE HAVE MAINTAINED THE VALUABLE HIGH-LEVEL DIALOGUE THROUGH A PERIOD OF TRANSITION IN ADMINISTRATIONS AND THEREBY SUSTAINED ROMANIAN CONFIDENCE IN THE CONTINUITY OF OUR "SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP." A MAJOR, LONG-STANDING OBJECTIVE OF THE US WAS ACHIEVED THROUGH THE NEGOTIATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF A TRADE AGREEMENT WITH ROMANIA, EXTENDING MFN AND OBTAINING A NUMBER OF USEFUL CONCESSIONS FOR US BUSINESS AND COMMERCIAL INTERESTS THERE. IN THIS CONTEXT, SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS WAS ALSO RECORDED IN RESOLVING THE TROUBLESOME ISSUE OF EMIGRATION. TRADE CONTINUES TO EXPAND AT A STEADY PACE. A FIVE-YEAR CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES PROGRAM NEGOTIATED IN DECEMBER, 1974, REPRESENTS CONFIDENTIAL

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SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN THIS AREA. NEW GROUND HAS BEEN BROKEN IN FURTHERING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS.

4. THE ROMANIAN LEADERSHIP'S VIEW OF THE WORLD

THE PREOCCUPATION OF ROMANIAN DIPLOMACY, SINCE THE EARLY 1960'S AT LEAST, HAS BEEN TO MAXIMIZE ROMANIAN INDEPENDENCE FROM THE SOVIET UNION WITHOUT SERIOUS RISK OF SOVIET INTERVENTION. WE DO NOT ANTICIPATE THAT SOVIET PRESSURE FOR CONFORMITY IN EASTERN EUROPE WILL IMPEL ROMANIA INTO MAJOR CONCESSIONS TO THE USSR, IN THE SHORT RUN, AT LEAST. BARRING REPLACEMENT OF CEAUSESCU (OF

WHICH WE HAVE NO INDICATION), THE GOR WILL CONTINUE TO SEEK TO PRESERVE ITS MAVERICK POSITION WITHIN THE WARSAW PACT. BASICALLY GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES WILL THEREFORE REMAIN A ROMANIAN DESIRATUM OVER THE LONG RUN.

5. THE REVIEW GROUP ALSO CONCURRED IN THE CONSIDERATIONS SET FORTH IN PARA 3 SECT. B OF THE EMBASSY ASSESSMENT, WHICH ADDRESS THE SIGNS OF AN INCREASINGLY RESTRICTIVE ENVIRONMENT IN ROMANIA. WE AGREE THAT THIS COULD PLACE

SOME STRAINS ON OUR RELATIONSHIP IN THE NEAR FUTURE, BUT WE EXPECT THAT THESE WILL NOT BE SUFFICIENTLY SEVERE TO DEFLECT THE OTHERWISE POSITIVE COURSE OF OUR RELATIONS. THIS DOMESTIC TREND COULD BECOME TROUBLESOME, HOWEVER, SHOULD IT RESULT IN THE REIMPOSITION OF RECENTLY RELAXED RESTRICTIONS ON EMIGRATION OR IN AN INCREASE OF HARRASSMENT OF FOREIGN BUSINESSMEN IN ROMANIA.

6. THE ROMANIAN LEADERS VIGOROUSLY SEEK IDENTIFICATION WITH THE "THIRD WORLD". WE BELIEVE THAT DESPITE ROMANIA'S WARSAW PACT MEMBERSHIP, IT IS LIKELY TO MAKE SOME PROGRESS IN THIS DIRECTION IN THE COMING YEAR. WE WILL HAVE TO WORK HARD TO ASSURE THAT THIS INTEREST IN THE NONALIGNED GROUP WILL NOT ENTICE THE ROMANIANS INTO POLEMICAL POSITIONS OFFENSIVE TO US. THE PUERTO RICAN "ISSUE" IS ONE SUCH AREA WITH POTENTIAL FOR TROUBLE-MAKING IN THIS CONTEXT. FRANK CONSULTATIONS ON ANY CONFIDENTIAL

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POINTS AT ISSUE WILL BE IMPORTANT.

7. PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU'S CALL AT THE OPENING OF THE AUGUST 1974 UN WORLD POPULATION CONFERENCE FOR A "NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER" (NIEO) WAS A DRAMATIC INDICATION OF ROMANIA'S ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY WITH THIRD WORLD INTERESTS AND ACHIEVE STATUS WITHIN THE NONALIGNED MOVEMENT. SINCE THEN THE ROMANIANS HAVE CONSISTENTLY SUPPORTED CONCEPTS CONTAINED IN THE IDEA OF A NIEO IN BOTH INTERNATIONAL FORUMS AND IN BILATERAL CONTACTS. BASIC IDEAS OF THE NIEO ARE ALSO BEING PRESSED BY ROMANIA WITHIN THE CEMA CONTEXT. AS ROMANIA ARTICULATES THESE CONCEPTS AT THE UNGA AND IN OTHER INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS, IT WILL BE IN OUR INTEREST TO PERSUADE THE ROMANIANS TO ADOPT POSITIONS WHICH AVOID CONFRONTATION WITH THE INDUSTRIAL WEST IF THEY WISH TO OBTAIN PRODUCTIVE RESULTS. WE WILL HAVE TO TRY HARD TO PERSUADE THE ROMANIAN LEADERSHIP TO AVOID THE TEMPTATIONS OF JOINING THIRD WORLD MILITANTS IN SIMPLISTIC AND POLEMICAL BERATING OF THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES.

8. ROMANIA AND YUGOSLAVIA HAVE DEVELOPED INCREASINGLY

CLOSE TIES. AN ORDERLY TRANSITION TO A POST-TITO YUGOSLAVIA IS REGARDED BY THE ROMANIANS AS ESSENTIAL TO PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE AREA. WE CAN CONTRIBUTE ONLY marginally TO THIS, BUT INsofar AS WECONTINUE TO MAINTAIN A CONSTRUCTIVE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WITH YUGOSLAVIA, THIS WILL BE VIEWED BY THE ROMANIANS AS A POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION TO STABILITY IN THE BALKANS.

9. BILATERAL ISSUES: THE TWO MAJOR ISSUES IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS HAVE BEEN INTERWOVEN BY THE CONGRESS: THE EXTENSION OF MFN TO ROMANIA, LONG PROMISED BY SUCCESSIVE US ADMINISTRATIONS, AND NOW ACHIEVED; AND ROMANIA'S HERETOFORE UNSATISFACTORY EMIGRATION PERFORMANCE. THE SUCCESSFUL RESOLUTION OF BOTH THESE ISSUES THROUGH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TRADE RELATIONS AGREEMENT PROVIDES NEW IMPETUS TO THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS OF MUTUAL TRUST AND RESPECT. SHOULD CONGRESS WITHDRAW APPROVAL OF THE AGREEMENT WHEN IT NEXT COMES UP FOR REVIEW IN CONFIDENTIAL

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JUNE, 1976, THIS UNDOUBTEDLY WOULD DEAL A SUBSTANTIAL BLOW TO OUR RELATIONSHIP, THOUGH HOPEFULLY THE MAJOR ADVERSE EFFECTS COULD BE MITIGATED EVENTUALLY.

10. WE REMAIN OPTIMISTIC ABOUT CONTINUED CONGRESSIONAL ENDORSEMENT OF THE TRADE AGREEMENT INCLUDING MFN AND CERTAIN CREDITS, PRIMARILY BECAUSE IT APPEARS THAT THE ROMANIANS HAVE GRASPED THE REAL MEANING OF JACKSON-VANIK AND APPEAR (AT LONG LAST) TO HAVE RELAXED SOME RESTRAINTS ON EMIGRATION. A SUBSTANTIAL FLOW OF APPROVALS/ DEPARTURES IS NOW TAKING PLACE. THE CONTINUATION OF THIS TREND WILL PROBABLY BE SUFFICIENT TO ENSURE ENDORSEMENT OF THE AGREEMENT NEXT JUNE, WHEN AN ELECTION-PREOCCUPIED CONGRESS WILL AGAIN SCRUTINIZE ROMANIAN EMIGRATION PERFORMANCE. US DIPLOMACY SHOULD AS A MATTER OF THE HIGHEST PRIORITY ENSURE THAT ROMANIAN DECISION-MAKERS HARBOR NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE NEED TO CONTINUE A STEADY FLOW OF EMIGRATION BOTH TO THE UNITED STATES AND TO ISRAEL IN THE COMING MONTHS.

11. COURSES OF ACTION: WE TRUST AND EXPECT THAT THE TRADE AGREEMENT WILL SURVIVE. WHETHER IT DOES OR NOT, OUR OBJECTIVES WILL NOT CHANGE. THE REVIEW GROUP CONCLUDES THAT WE SHOULD PURSUE THE FOLLOWING COURSES OF ACTION IN SUPPORT OF THOSE GOALS:

-- A) GENERAL

1) CONTINUE THE DIALOGUE AT VARIOUS LEVELS, WHICH AS EMBASSY BUCHAREST POINTS OUT HAS PROVEN SO USEFUL. THE PROPOSED VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES OF

RCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARY STEFAN ANDREI DESERVES PARTICULAR ATTENTION IN THIS CONTEXT.

-- 2) CONTINUE AND EXPAND THE BEGINNING MADE IN EXCHANGES OF MILITARY VISITS, SPECIFICALLY, GENERAL TUTOVEANU'S VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES IN OCTOBER, 1975;

A ROMANIAN NAVAL SHIP VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES IN 1976; AND ONE MORE US NAVAL VISIT TO ROMANIA IN 1976.
(THIS ASSESSMENT DOES NOT ADDRESS OTHER ASPECTS OF A CONFIDENTIAL

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POSSIBLE MILITARY RELATIONSHIP, WHICH ARE UNDER REVIEW.)

--- 3) ENCOURAGE FURTHER ROMANIAN EFFORTS TO JOIN OR PARTICIPATE MORE ACTIVELY IN SPECIALIZED INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS SO AS TO INTEGRATE ROMANIA STILL MORE INTO THE WORLD ECONOMIC SYSTEM, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME ENCOURAGING THE GOR TO REFRAIN FROM A CONFRONTATIONAL APPROACH TO MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ISSUES AS THEY SEEK INCREASINGLY TO IDENTIFY WITH THE "NONALIGNED".

--- 4) CONTINUE TO CONSULT RESPONSIVELY WITH THE ROMANIANS IN MULTI-LATERAL FORUMS, AS WE HAVE DONE IN CSCE.

--- 5) ACTIVELY PRESS THE ROMANIAN LEADERSHIP FOR SOLUTIONS WHEN INTERNAL MEASURES ADVERSELY AFFECT EITHER US INTERESTS OR THE POLITICAL CLIMATE IN THE US NEEDED TO CONTINUE SUPPORT FOR OUR "SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP." THIS WILL OFTEN BE REQUIRED REGARDING REUNIFICATION OF DIVIDED FAMILIES AND DUAL/MULTIPLE NATIONAL CASES, BUT MAY ALSO EXTEND TO OTHER SENSITIVE DOMESTIC AREAS SUCH AS THE TREATMENT OF FOREIGN BUSINESSMEN AND, ON SELECTIVE OCCASIONS, THE TREATMENT OF ETHNIC-RELIGIOUS MINORITIES SHOULD THIS BECOME A MATTER OF ACUTE CONCERN IN THE UNITED STATES. IN THIS CONTEXT, WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD RAISE FORMALLY WITH THE ROMANIANS THE QUESTION OF DUAL/MULTIPLE NATIONALS, SEEKING AS SPECIFIC A COMMITMENT IN THIS AREA AS WE CAN OBTAIN. AS WE MOVE TO MEET ROMANIAN REQUESTS FOR AGREEMENTS IN A VARIETY OF AREAS, WE CAN WITHOUT HESITATION RAISE THIS QUESTION AS A MATTER OF SOME CONCERN TO US.

--- A. ECONOMIC RELATIONS

--- 1) BEGIN NEGOTIATION OF A BILATERAL LONG-TERM ECONOMIC COOPERATION AGREEMENT.

--- 2) EXTEND GSP.

--- 3) FOCUS ACTIVITIES OF THE JOINT COMMISSION

AND COUNCIL ON MAJOR BOTTLENECK AREAS, IN THE FIELD OF
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JOINT VENTURES, FOR EXAMPLE. UTILIZE THE VISIT OF
DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER OF FOREIGN TRADE
ION PATAN IN THIS REGARD.

--- 4) CONTINUE A STRONG TRADE PROMOTION EFFORT
TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE OPPORTUNITIES WHICH WILL BE
PRESENTED AS PLANS FOR THE 1976-80 FIVE-YEAR PLAN ASSUME
CONCRETE FORM. (IN THIS CONTEXT, CONSIDER THE ESTAB-
LISHMENT IN BUCHAREST OF A TRADE DEVELOPMENT CENTER,
NOW PROPOSED BY COMMERCE.)

--- 5) MOVE TO EXPAND COOPERATION IN AGRICULTURE,
BASED ON AGRICULTURAL DISCUSSIONS AND POSSIBLE AGREEMENTS
NEGOTIATED IN THE CONTEXT OF THE VISIT OF DEPUTY PRIME
MINISTER AND AGRICULTURE MINISTER MICULESCU TO THE US.

--- 6) BEGIN NEGOTIATION OF A MARITIME AGREEMENT.

--- 7) EXPLORE POSSIBILITIES FOR MUTUALLY BENE-
FICIAL COOPERATION THROUGH THE CONCLUSION OF
COLLABORATIVE AGREEMENTS ON ENERGY, ENVIRONMENTAL
PROTECTION, AND IN PUBLIC HEALTH, AS MENTIONED IN THE
JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF AUGUST 3. IN THIS CONNECTION,
DEVELOP A US POSITION IN RESPONSE TO THE ROMANIAN
AUGUST 19 PROPOSAL FOR NEGOTIATION OF A NUCLEAR
BILATERAL AGREEMENT, KEEPING IN MIND THE POLITICAL
ADVANTAGES TO BE OBTAINED THROUGH SUCH AN AGREEMENT
AS WELL AS THE OTHER CONSIDERATIONS INVOLVED IN THIS
COMPLEX AREA.

--- 8) ENSURE CONGRESSIONAL ACTION TO APPROVE
THE TAX CONVENTION.

--- 9) REVIEW CAREFULLY PROSPECTS FOR EXTENDING
FURTHER ASSISTANCE IN CONNECTION WITH THE RECENT
ROMANIAN FLOODS, INCLUDING, IF POSSIBLE, THE PROVISION
OF SEEDS AND ASSISTANCE IN DEVELOPING A FLOOD DETECTION
AND EARLY WARNING SYSTEM.

-- C. CULTURAL-SCIENTIFIC PROGRAMS

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--- 1) MAKE A START ON JOINT AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH.
THE SCHEDULED VISIT OF ROMANIAN MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE
MICULESCU IN SEPTEMBER SHOULD PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR
THIS.

-- 2) FOLLOW-UP TO SPEAKER ALBERT'S VISIT IN AUGUST, TO PROMOTE RECIPROCAL VISITS BY MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND THE CONGRESS, KEEPING IN MIND LIMITED ABILITY OF US CONGRESS TO HOST VISITS BY FOREIGN PARLIAMENTARIANS.

--- 3) IMPLEMENT COOPERATIVE PROJECTS BETWEEN NASA AND THE GOR, NOW IN THE PLANNING STAGE.

--- 4) INCREASE EFFORTS TO ATTRACT ROMANIAN LEADERSHIP CADRES TO THE UNITED STATES, UTILIZING BOTH GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE RESOURCES; THIS TO INCLUDE A VISIT BY RCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARY STEFAN ANDREI IN THE AUTUMN.

---- 5) PROMOTE CONTACTS BETWEEN THE ACYPL AND ROMANIAN ORGANIZATIONS, NOW IN THE PLANNING STAGE (OLIVER VISIT FOLLOW-UP).

--- 6) EMPLOY THE BICENTENNIAL FRAMEWORK TO PROMOTE CONTACTS WITH AN INCREASING RANGE OF ROMANIAN POLITICAL AND MANAGEMENT ENTITIES.

-- D. CITIZENS' INTERESTS: MAJOR ATTENTION WILL CONTINUE TO BE REQUIRED ON EMIGRATION-RELATED ISSUES, UTILIZING CONTACTS AT EVERY LEVEL TO ASSURE THAT ROMANIAN OFFICIALDOM DOES NOT FAIL TO UNDERSTAND THE CONTINUING REQUIREMENT FOR A STEADY FLOW OF EMIGRATION FROM ROMANIA. INGERSOLL

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